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COMMENTS ON *AHIMSA* (NONVIOLENCE)

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psychological perspectives on non-violence

Unlike the situation existing for studies of aggression and violence, the literature on the psychology of nonviolence is sparse. Psychological perspectives on nonviolence can however be derived from the meta psychological and psychospiritual writings of major recognized practitioners of nonviolence. This paper will therefore draw on the thought and work of Mahatma Gandhi as well as three North Americans who were or are still involved in militant nonviolence and who recognize Gandhi as a mentor: Martin Luther King, Jr., Cesar Chavez, and Jim Douglass.

historical sources of non-violence

It must be noted that nonviolence is not a Gandhian creation: it is practically a universal phenomenon. As Sharp (1973)pointed out, there are many responses to conflict and violence, spanning the range from inaction to action. Far from being a form of inaction or non-resistance, nonviolence is one of many forms of *active* resistance. As a method of active resistance, nonviolence was first recorded in Western history in Roman times, 494 B.C.E. (Sharp, 1973 p. 75), and has been employed without reference to Gandhian influence in such diverse countries as Russia, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Guatemala, and Italy (Iyer, 1973; Sharp 1973). Non-Gandhian approaches to nonviolence still continue among the traditional Western peace churches, e.g. the Quakers, Mennonites, Amish, Dukhobors and Hutterites,

Gandhi was himself significantly influenced by Henry David Thoreau and Count Leon Tclstoi. Thoreau's influence arose primarily from his essay initially titled "Resistance to civil government" which has since come to be known simply as "Civil disobedience" (1975). Tolstoi's views were based in

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Christian ethics and set out to create a new pacifist lifestyle of non-resistance (1894). The writings of Thoreau and Tolstoi, and their followers, continued to nourish Gandhi's commitment to nonviolence into his later years.

OVERVIEW AND COMPARISON

Mahatma Gandhi

the path of action

Nonviolence, not inaction nor non-resistance, is Gandhian nonviolence (Bishop, 1981). Gandhi's orientation is defined by his following the practice of *karma yoga,* the path of action (Bondurant, 1965; Desai, 1946; Woodcock, 1972). Indeed, Gandhi was so much the activist, he considered violence in the struggle for justice to be of higher value than cowardly inaction even though he himself chose nonviolence as the highest value (Douglass, 1968; Gregg, 1972; Horsburgh, 1968; Iyer, 1973). This is clear, for example, in his response to the villagers of Bettiah who fled their wives and children claiming nonviolence when cowardice was actually what was involved (Ray, 1950).

Gandhi was far more than "the outstanding strategist of nonviolent action" (Sharp, 1973, p. 5). The unique dimension that he brought to nonviolent resistance is not primarily his methods and tactics, despite the extensive work that recognizes this aspect (Sharp, 1973). Gandhi's uniqueness actually lies in his introduction of *satyagraha* or *truthforce.* More specifically, the essence of Gandhi's power lay in his metaphysics (Bishop, 1981; Bondurant, 1965; Iyer, 1973). This metaphysical orientation allowed him to perceive the world and its ills in ways that permitted the development of uniquely appropriate psychospiritual and psychosocial structures of healing and /or change.

Jour key concepts

Gandhi's metaphysics is also the source of his personal and organizational metapsychology, including four key concepts: *satyagraha, ahimsa, tapasva,* and *swaraj,*

Satyagraha

Satyagraha is a combination of two Gujarati words, *satya* (truth) and *agraha* (firm holding to), thus creating a new word usually translated as *truthforce.* Gandhi and his followers had been searching for a word that would most properly distinguish their style of nonviolence from other forms, e.g, passive resistance and civil disobedience. One of Gandhi's cousins suggested *sadagraha* and Gandhi himself came up with *satyagraha,* the final version (Chaudhuri & Frank, 1969; Fischer,

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1950; Gandhi, 1927/1957). This term, in employing the very Hindu concept of truth which was one of the preferred names for the Divine (Gandhi, 1957; Kripalani, 1960), linked the power of nonviolent resistance with the transcendent.

moksha, or liberation, as Gandhi's goal

The Divine referred to by this concept is not equivalent to the Western concept of God, which is more easily equated with the personal *Isvara* of Hinduism. The Divine here is ultimately the experiential truth or knowing of all as one, of all as Divine, of *atman* as *Brahman,* of *advaita* or non-dualism (Bondurant, 1965; Iyer, 1973). This knowing is *moksha,* the liberation that was Gandhi's primary goal.

> What I want to achieve-what I have been striving and pining to achieve these thirty years-is self-realization, to see God face to face, to obtain *Moksha.* I live and move and have my being in pursuit of this goal. All that I do by way of speaking and writing, and all my ventures in the political field, are directed to the same end (Gandhi, 1927/1957, p, xii).

It was his commitment to the pursuit of *moksha'* that was recognized when the great Indian poet, Rabindranath Tagore, first named him Mahatma (great soul), an example of a highly evolved and supra-ethical personhood (Chaudhuri & Frank, 1969).

advaita or non-dualism

At least three important conclusions follow from Gandhi's *advaita* (non-dualism). Firstly, if we are all one, then all ethical action must be oriented to friendship for all, including one's opponents or antagonists (Bondurant, 1965; Bruyn & Rayman, 1979). To hold to the truth of our unity means that we can ultimately reject no one. Secondly, if all of reality is one, then politics and religion are also one and indistinguishable (Woodcock, 1972). Gandhi concluded that he could not be leading a religious life if he did not identify with humanity, and such an identification required his participation in politics (Kripalani, 1960). Thirdly, *advaita* involves transformation. Therefore, no specific activity, tactic or method produced the power and uniqueness of Gandhian resistance or satyagraha; rather, its power lay in the transformed person (Gandhi, 1927).

Ahimsa

Ahimsa, when translated simply as nonviolence, does not do justice to the term as used by Gandhi.

The term is found in Jainism, Hinduism and Buddhism (Iyer, 1973; Tahtinen, 1979). In Jainism, *ahimsa* is the natural state of

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living beings (Dwivedi, 1975). A strong Jain influence operated in Gandhi's life especially through his mother (Erikson, 1969; Woodcock, 1972). Hinduism also incorporates the term, and the very first of the eight yogic steps, the *yamas* or abstentions, begins with *ahimsa* (Patanjali, undated / 1951). Buddhism continues the yogic discipline of *ahimsa* but is closer to Jainisrn in making nonviolence more central.

ahimsa as a positive orientation

Gandhi recognized that *ahimsa* must be founded in *advaita.* If all is one, we must be caring and unhurtful for all. We must respect truth in others (Erikson, 1969). Nonviolence thus becomes a means to actualize unity as well as being an expression of the perceived underlying unitary end of our actions. Gandhi therefore came to see *ahimsa* as equivalent to the Christian concept of *agape* or the highest form of disinterested love (Bondurant, 1965; Gandhi, 1942). *Ahimsa* is therefore much more than the absence of violence or aggression; it is also a positive orientation of goodwill to others, including one's opponent.

Tapasya

tapasya as self suffering

Tapasya is usually translated as self-suffering. This has at least two dimensions. First, in Hindu asceticism, *tapasya* refers to intrapersonal suffering as the individual struggles to let go of the illusion of separateness. It refers to suffering arising from the shock of discovering the truth (Desai, 1946). *Tapasya* is therefore voluntarily accepted suffering. Secondly, applied at the interpersonal level, such voluntary suffering is the case where an individual takes on the suffering of others in order to be and serve with them constructively. *Tapasya* is also in evidence interpersonally when an individual holds nonviolently to the truth of oneness in the face of opposition, but receives violent treatment from the opponent in return. Both such personal and social self-sufferingis necessary for the *satyagrahi* who chooses to resist violence. In this regard, Gandhi was deeply moved throughout his life by the example of Jesus' crucifixion: he died for speaking and doing the truth, and even in death he extended love to his executioners.

Swaraj

swaraj as self-rule

This term is often overlooked in studies of key Gandhian concepts. Like the concepts noted above, this one is also borrowed from Hindu spirituality and given an extended sociopolitical dimension. *Swaraj* refers to self-rule (Dalton, 1982). In Gandhian thought, it connotes both personal self-

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control as well as the social goal of Indian independence as a nation free from British colonialism. This latter socio-political independence came to be known as *puma swaraj,* or complete independence (Woodcock, 1972).

a combination of Eastern and Western ideas

Two conclusions can be drawn about Gandhi's nonviolence. First, Gandhi combined Eastern and Western ideas in developing his thought and action. Most significantly in this regard, however, was his ability to link his thought to powerful indigenous Hindu concepts and metaphors that had mass appeal. He therefore rooted his emergent metapsychology of *satyagraha* in terms that were widely accessible and known even to the poorest and least educated of Indians. And secondly, Gandhi was a spiritually motivated activist. He was involved in nonviolent revolution-the overthrow of British colonial rule-by precipitating various social and ethical crises in India. *Orthopraxis* or right action-rather than *orthodoxis* or right teaching-was his goal.

Martin Luther King, Jr.

King's non-violence and agape

King, an intellectual and academic, began his career as a fundamentalist Christian. His philosophical introduction to nonviolence ranged from Socrates to Thoreau (Ansbro, 1982) and by the end of his Ph.D. at Boston University, he had critically absorbed the tenets of Protestant liberalism, Kantian idealism, Hegelian concepts of dialectical change, and the Marxist critique of capitalism (King, 1963a; Smith, 1981; Smith & Zepp, 1974). King's nonviolence, while owing much to Gandhi, had many of its own unique features. These features can be summarized in one Christian concept: *agape* or love.

As a theologically trained Christian clergyman, King was familiar with the Hebrew *ebed yahweh* or Suffering Servant tradition of Trite-Isaiah that was accepted by Jesus, the suffering Messiah of the New Testament. This tradition of suffering and redemptive Lovewas vital to King (1963a, 1967). AU individuals, even one's opponents, were to be seen as children of God and potential channels of the Divine *agape* (Ansbro, 1982; King, 1958; Smith, 1981). He felt a strong commitment to the freedom of *all* God's children (Smith, 1981).

King was also very familiar with the prophetic zeal of the Hebrew prophets who tied faith and action together. For the prophets, belief in Yahweh necessarily translated into social justice. King's extra-Biblical source for this commitment to the so-called social gospel came from Walter Rauscbenbusch's

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famous *Christianity and social crisis* (King, 1963a). These early concepts became more sophisticated through the influence of the social ethics of Reinhold Niebuhr. King held vehemently to the connection between religious values and political action (King, 1958):

> Any religion that professes to be concerned with the souls of men and is not concerned with the slums that damn them, the economic conditions that strangle them, and the social conditions that cripple them is a dry-as-dust religion. Such a religion is the kind Marxists like to see-an opiate of the people (p, 28) . . .
>
> It has been my conviction ever since reading Rauschenbusch that any religion which professes to be concerned about the souls of men and is not concerned about the social and economic conditions that scar that soul, is a spiritually moribund religion only waiting for the day to be buried. It well has been said: "A religion that ends with the individual, ends" (p. 72).

The strength of such convictions no doubt fueled the F.B.I. investigation of communist influence on King (Garrow, 1981). It should be clear from the above, however, that King's social analysis arose primarily from a Biblically derived social-gospel theology (Smith, 1981).

inter-related love and justice

While Rauschenbusch and Niebuhr were the sources of a social theology that inter-related love and justice, King drew from Gandhi a philosophical *praxis* (Smith, 1981). As King.(1958) pointed out, Jesus provided the motivation, and Gandhi provided the method (p. 67).

King had originally understood Gandhi second-hand through Niebuhr (1932). He finally had a relevant personal experience when he went as a Baptist seminarian to Philadelphia to hear a sermon of Dr. Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard University, one of many black leaders that had gone to visit Gandhi in India. King left the sermon and bought half a dozen works on Gandhi.

> As I delved deeper into the philosophy of Gandhi my skepticism concerning the power of love gradually diminished, and I came to see for the first time its potency in the area of social reform. Prior to reading Gandhi, I had about concluded that the ethics of Jesus was only effective in individual relationship . . . I came to feel that this was the only morally and practically sound method open to oppressed people in the struggle for freedom (King, 1958, p, 71).

King therefore integrated Gandhian *satyagraha* into his Christian theology as being compatible with *agape* (Smith,

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1981). Coretta, King's wife, noted (1969) that her husband began to publicly practice Gandhian nonviolence for the first time during the Montgomery bus campaign. After Montgomery, King's nonviolence was firmly rooted in Christian love and Gandhian *satyagraha.*

Like Gandhi, King drew on many sources of thought and practice. But he emphasized the metaphors common to his followers. He therefore chose to apply Biblical metaphors indigenous to his Black audience in addressing national issues (Smith & Zepp, 1974), and he directed his preaching to achieving nonviolent mass action. He referred to Montgomery as "the chronicle of 50,000 Negroes who took to heart the principles of non-violence, who learned to fight for their rights with the weapon of love, and who, in the process, acquired a new estimate of their own human worth" (King, 1958, p. 7).

Cesar Chavez

Chavez' roots in family, community and Gandhi's thought

Cesar Chavez came to national recognition in his nonviolent campaigns on behalf of the unionization of Filipino and Chicano migrant grape and lettuce farm workers in California. Three roots have been identified in his approach to nonviolence: his extended family; his years in community organizing with Saul Alinsky's Community Services Organization; and his value system in which Gandhi's thought played an important role (Yinger, 1975).

Chavez grew up in the difficult life of a Chicano migrant farmworking family. The closeness of the family experience and the strong peace-making influence of his mother had a crucial impact on his approach to nonviolence (Levy, 1975; Hope & Young, 1977). The idea of family was to remain as an important metaphor, and Chavez's early education in peacemaking at his mother's insistence was his beginner's practice. On returning from a stint in the Navy as a young man, he was eventually invited by an Alinsky organizer, Fred Ross, to become an organizer for Alinsky's Community Services Organization. In time, he came to perceive himself primarily as a community organizer doing sacred work (Matthiessen, 1969; Hope & Young, 1977).

Two major strands can be isolated in Chavez's value system: popular Chicano Roman Catholicism and Gandhian nonviolence. He used popular religion throughout his work. His campaigns included constructing prayer shrines, practising penitence in public, setting off on walking pilgrimages to the

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California Legislature, and displays of public devotion to such popular saints as Our Lady of Guadeloupe and St. Francis of Assisi (Levy, 1975). His extensive usage of popular Chicano Catholicism at times did not sit well with his many non-Catholic and non-Christian supporters, although it may have been essential for him personally and in reaching the masses of his people (Matthlessen, 1969).

physical, verbal, ethical non-violence

He drew upon nonviolence as practiced by Gandhi in India and was familiar with King's adaptations to the American context. A Gandhian influence is obvious in his insistence that nonviolence is not only physical and verbal, but also ethical (Levy, 1975). Like both Gandhi and King, he nevertheless accepted that not all his followers would agree to this inner nonviolence but would at least have to be bound to a behavioral or tactical nonviolence (Matthiessen, 1969). Chavez's familiarity with King is apparent in his Good Friday Letter which is reminiscent of King's Letter from a Birmingham Jail (King, 1963b). Chavez also telegrammed to Coretta Scott King on the assassination of her husband: "His nonviolence was that of action-not that of contemplating action. Because of that, he will always be to us more than a philosopher of nonviolence" (Yinger, 1975, p, 60).

Chavez's values were popularly grounded and he was an activist. The integration of these two aspects is revealed in his belief that the best training ground for nonviolence is the picket line itself (Matthiessen, 1969). The reality of nonviolence is discovered in communal action.

James Douglass

Douglass is a former professor of religion from the University of Hawaii. As a Roman Catholic, he had also served as an expert to the bishops gathered in Rome at the 1962-65Second Vatican Ecumenical Council. His lifetook a vigorous turn as he began reflecting and acting with conscience on the war in Vietnam. Douglass continues to confront militarism non-violently from his home near a major Trident nuclear submarine base in Bangor, Washington. His community is named "Ground Zero."

Douglass' worldview is influenced by Christian scripture and mythology, especially such elements as the Sermon on the Mount and the suffering love of Jesus' crucifixion. Douglass (1968) recognized the revolutionary and transformative power of Jesus' self-emptying or *kenosis.* At least five other

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individuals besides Gandhi had a powerful effect on him, and all five were themselves influenced by Gandhi: Shelly Douglass, Douglass' wife; Philip and Daniel Berrigan, American priest revolutionaries; Dorothy Day, the co-foundress of the Catholic Worker Movement; and Thomas Merton, the Trappist monk. From Shelly, Douglass was pressured to include a feminist analysis (Douglass, 1980). The Berrigan brothers added their sense of the urgency of the situation and the value of heroic symbolic action (Berrigan, 1971; Berrigan, 1970; Douglass, 1972). Dorothy Day's service to the poor and resistance to war manifested the strength of a life based on conscience (Douglass, 1980). And from Merton, Douglass drew his metaphysics of nonviolence based in contemplative tradition and experience, both Western and Eastern (Douglass, 1972, 1980).

Douglass' connection of personal and social transformation

Gandhian *advaita* appears in Douglass' work, not only in the integration of *satyagraha* and *ahimsa,* but also in his insistence on the inseparable nature of faith and politics (Douglass, 1968). Douglass sees two kinds of transformation-personal transformation occurring through contemplation, and social transformation through resistance-as *yin* and *yang,* the necessarily complementary aspects of true nonviolence (Douglass, 1972).

Douglass' version of Gandhian nonviolence is based in a metapsychology that connects suffering and unitive love with resistance arising from a community concerned for a planet free from nuclear war.

The above general overview and comparison of several approaches to Gandhian nonviolence can be reduced to two key points. First, *satyagraha* involves several approaches to a *personal* sense of self that is positive and open to others. Second, it involves the *organization* of large groups of people to pursue nonviolent action.

To further sharpen this focus psychologically, some elements of Gandhian nonviolence will be summarized in three categories: self, other, and community.

SELF, OTHER, AND COMMUNITY

Self

Gandhian nonviolence includes an understanding of human personality, which assumes an *advaita* approach to the self

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(Iyer, 1973). This approach is expressed in the psychospiritua1 disciplines of courage and suffering love.

"inner law" of being

The truth, or God, is assumed to be the "inner law" of being, for Gandhi as well as for King, Chavez, and Douglass (Merton, (980). Hinduism speaks of integral experience or intuition of the true self arising from discrimination based in practice and devotion (Hiriyana, 1949; Radhakrishnan, 1956; Shankara, undatedjI967). Western Christianity speaks of the core of the human being as the *imago dei,* our likeness to God (Smith, 1981). To grasp this truth is to be liberated (Bruyn & Rayman, 1979; Dalton, 1982; Iyer, 1973; Jesudasan, 1984).

male and female challenges

The process of liberation includes the passage from passivity and cowardice to nonviolent resistance and courage. Such courage requires an aptitude for suffering-love as the proof of our grasp of the truth (Douglass, 1968; Levy, (975). Our self-realization and liberation can be tested against such an aptitude (Smith, (981). Males and females face distinct challenges here. Chavez conducted one of his major water fasts in penitence for the *machismo* of his followers who were too quick to surrender love for violence. The speech he wrote for the conclusion of his fast, read in Spanish and English, included the following challenge to his male followers:

> I am convinced that the truest act of courage, the strongest act of manliness is to sacrifice ourselves for others in a totally nonviolent struggle for justice. To be a man is to suffer for others. God help us to be men! (Yinger, 1975, p, 46-47).

Women, on the other hand, often expected and socialized to assume involuntary misery, are urged to claim the freedom to choose voluntary suffering in the service of nonviolent change (McAllister, (982). If the deepest level of the human self is spiritual, consistently living from this deepest level releases the power of truth or *satyagraha*(Horsburgh, (968).

Other

Gandhian nonviolence is not only physical and verbal. It also excludes moral forms of harassment and violence as contained in the Gujarati *duragraha.* With the other, including one's opponent, nonviolence seeks friendship, unity, and uplift for all or *sarvodaya*(Bondurant, 1965; King, 1958: Pelton, 1974). Since none of us have access to absolute truth, nonviolence allows the most loving route for us to search together through conflict for that truth: violence towards the other implies that the violent assume with certainty that they alone know the

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truth (Pelton, 1974). The goal, in relationship to the other, is the commonly discovered truth beneath whatever conflict, rather than the victory of one party over the other (Bruyn & Rayman, 1979; Horsburgh, 1968).

> The appeal of one human being to another is at once the most primitive and authentic form of social communication. It is because the satyagraha of Gandhi moves so surely on this level of social interaction that it presents an opportunity for a fresh start in dealing with conflict situations which none of us can afford to dismiss untried (Shridharani, 1939, p. 307).

At worst, the opposing other may be misguided, but never evil (King, 1958). It should be noted that the opponent may seem relatively innocuous. King (1963b) declared: "'I have almost reached the regrettable conclusion that the Negro's great stumbling block in his stride toward freedom is not the White Citizen's Counciler or the Ku Klux Klanner, but the white moderate" (p. 87). At least in King's situation, the most difficult opponent was the silent majority of American citizens and his own Christian church.

four stages of moral appeal

Nonviolence is based in moral appeal to the other (Gregg, 1972; Horsburgh, 1968;Pelton, 1974).This appeal progresses by four stages: data gathering; negotiation or arbitration; self-purification; and finally direct action (Erikson, 1969; King, 1963a; Pelton, 1974). The nonviolent process begins by attempts to provide information and to convince by logic, and may escalate to non-cooperation, civil disobedience and setting up of alternative social institutions. Nonviolence begins with and prefers a cooperative rather than confrontive stance.

the issue of coercion

Gandhi believed that acts used for manipulative purposes or as blackmail were not truly nonviolent and did not represent *satyagraha* (Erikson, 1969). But a question remains, is there a role for nonviolent coercion? Pelton (1974) seemed to think so. The major proponent of nonviolent coercion, however, has been Reinhold Niebuhr, one of King's mentors.

Niebuhr (1932) insisted that both nonviolent and violent social change involved coercion. "We cannot draw any absolute line of demarcation between violent and nonviolent coercion" (p. 172).Niebuhr pointed to the undernourishment of Manchester children as a result of Gandhian tactics in India. He concluded that Tolstoi's pacifism was not only unrealistic but actually deleterious to Russia. And he considered Gandhi to be confused on this topic in not recognizing a coercive dimension to *satyagraha:*

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King followed in Niebuhr's footsteps up to a point. He agreed with Niebuhr's Protestant realism that in our immoral society justice more often than love had to be the goal of social action (Smith & Zepp, 1974). As a result, power and a certain amount of coercion might be part of the weaponry of nonviolence. "Nonviolent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and foster such a tension that a community which has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue" (King, 1963b, p. 81). Despite the fact that King (1958) had originally counselled against physical as well as internal violence, he seemed to return more and more to Niebuhr'arealism as he became aware of how difficult it would be to achieve equality. The Berrigans, claiming that change was more difficult in the U.S.A. than in colonial India, also seemed to resort to nonviolent coercion in the form of minor property damage (Berrigan, 1970).

faith, realism, and resistance in a nuclear age

However, King also criticized Niebuhr's realism. He declared that Niebuhr had confused pacifism and non-resistance with Gandhian nonviolent resistance (King, 1958). Douglass has continued this criticism on two fronts. He pointed out that Niebuhr is caught within the logic of the Reformation doctrine of justification by faith alone: not being fully justified, human action necessarily included a certain amount of coercion (Douglass, 1968). From the vantage point of potential nuclear annihilation, Douglass' later critique was more incisive. He pointed out that Protestant realism does not take seriously enough the possible end of human history due to human sin and coerciveness. As a result, Niebuhrians do not deal with the ethical imperative of devising peaceful means in order to achieve peace (Douglass, 1980). Douglass pointed to the perilousness and short-sightedness of such so-called realism in a nuclear age.

Gandhian nonviolence moves towards love, respect and expressed unitive connection with the other, including the opponent. It is grounded in an ethical appeal to the other as a fellow human. Despite Sharp's (1973) distinction that would limit nonviolent methods to direct actions, Gandhian non-violence includes data-gathering, negotiating, self-purification and direct action since *satyagraha* is a matter of the spirit in which all these activities are performed. And despite what Niebuhr says about nonviolent coercion, the majority of practitioners and thinkers suggest that while the struggle may be tougher from time-to-time or in different places, a physical, verbal, as well as ethical nonviolence is preferred.

One continuing weakness in the history of Gandhian non-violence still needs to be addressed, namely, the role of women, especially as seen in the wives of Gandhi, King, Chavez and

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Douglass, It is true that for his era Gandhi was unusually concerned for women. He was against child marriage, enforced widowhood, wife beating, and the practice of *sati* or the suicide of women on the funeral pyre of their husbands. Women were key to many of his campaigns. He also repudiated his own early physical and verbal abuse of his wife during the first years of their marriage (Gandhi, 1957). Gandhi nevertheless, accepted *bramacharya,* a vow of chastity, without consulting Kasturbai, his wife. In his old age-some would say senility-he also used women for warmth or as a test of his chastity in a fashion that appears exploitative despite the practices of his culture which he had transcended in so many other areas (Mcallister, (982). In the U.S.A., Caretta Scott King and Helen Chavez each filled background roles to her husband's foreground, holding the family together during various campaigns. Of these wives, only Shelly Douglass has brought a powerful and vocal feminist challenge to her husband, and to the history and practice of Gandhian nonviolence (Douglass, 1972, 1980). More recently similar challenges have expanded and brought forth new analyses (McAllister, 1982).

the role of women and a feminist challenge

Community

We have already noted the significance of *advaita* for the Gandhian psychologies of self and other. The same will now be shown to be true for community.

Gandhi saw the human community as one. "I believe in the absolute oneness of God and therefore also of humanity. What though we have many bodies? We have but one soul" (Gandhi, 1927, p. 79). This unity extended beyond humanity to encompass all creation (Iyer, 1973). King, considered a theistic monist (Smith, 1981), repeated the following in many of his speeches and writings: "Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly" (King, I963b, p. 79). Human existence is therefore indivisible (Smith & Zepp, 1974). Douglass (1968, 1980) speaks of the oneness of Reality and the Kingdom of God, of the individual ego as a lie, and of nonviolence through suffering-love as the sure access to our common humanity. Chavez is noted for the high degree of identification he has with his people (Yinger, 1975) as well as his openness to the larger community and issues of the nation, ecology and peace (Matthiessen, 1969).

To the extent that such a vision of community and common humanity is actualized in the present, nonviolent power begins

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to become available. The early Berrigan strategies in the U.S.A. were based in the integrity of many individuals acting together. However, it became clear after their Catonsville experience that there was need for a community of love beyond political and ideological resistance that could serve as present reality and vision, means as well as end (Berrigan, 1975). Individual noncooperation can be ethical; but organized mass nonce-operation can be ethical and also powerful (Pelton, 1974). Arendt (1970) pointed out that power is a product of group life. The giving and especially the withdrawing of such communal power is crucial to nonviolent organizing (Sharp, 1973).

joining means and ends in community

Such power may be developed by various means. Gandhi constructed a new community as Douglass now does, thus once more joining means and ends (Pelton, 1974; Walton, 1971). Such a community is a service not only to its members but to the larger society as well. Gandhi also instituted *khadi,* the manual labor of hand-spinning cotton, as a way of manifesting *swaraj*. This alternative socio-economic structure of highly organized cells was a valuable part of the nonviolent network across India (Jesudasan, 1984). The process of training new *satyagrahis* also builds group power. King (1958) used role-playing in Montgomery. The work of Coover *et at (1985)* provides but one example of the many available traditional and contemporary methods of training.

CONCLUSION

Gandhian nonviolence is grounded in processes where:

I. The practitioner is personally transformed to have a strong, positive sense of self;

2. The practitioner is open to others, especially the opponent, with minimized hostility;

3. The organization of practitioners into small groups, cells or communities can also be networked into a powerful mass movement of constructive works, alternative socio-economic structures, and resistance.

The above processes overlap and are not sequential. The self can be transformed in the very process of resisting. One may be confronted by a seemingly overwhelming challenge to openness to the opponent and suddenly discover an unexpected source of supportive inner strength. The disciplines of communal organization may create openness where it did not exist sufficiently. Nevertheless, these personal and organiza-

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tional transformations, appearing in whatever sequence, are basic to *satyagraha.*

NOTE

'Gandhi's interestin Hinduismbeganthrough the influenceoftbe theosophists he met during his law studies in England. They introduced him to Sir E. Arnold's free translation of the *Bhagavad Gita.* The *Gita* subsequently became the source text of Gandhi's orientation to life (Desai, 1946; Mathur & Sharma, 1977; Mehta, 1976).

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